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and past. The Mormon is a more latitudinarian Congregationalist than Beecher, a more veritable Baptist than St. John, and he out-Romanizes any Catholic in his arrangements for the reclamation of the impenitent dead. He swallows without gulping, and digests without griping, the entire Bible from Genesis to Revelation, Apocrypha included, and thrives on the mass as literal manna from heaven; supplementing, by way of dessert, his religious menu with a dainty bit of Bible of his own. So it is not strange to find among even the strait-laced of the Christian clergy those, like Rev. Dr. Tuttle, Episcopal bishop of Utah, who are willing to bear testimony to Mormon merit. This liberal prelate, in a lecture delivered in New York a few years ago, said of them:

"I know the people of the east have obtained the most unfavorable opinion of them, and have judged them unjustly. They have many traits that are worthy of admiration, and they believe with a fervent faith that their religion is a direct revelation from God. We of the east are accustomed to look upon the Mormons as either the licentious, arrogant, or rebellious mob, bent only on defying the United States government and deriding the faith of the Christians. This is not so. I know them to be honest, faithful, prayerful workers, and earnest in their faith that heaven will bless the Church of Latter-day Saints. Another strong and admirable feature in the Mormon religion is the tenacious and efficient organization. They follow with the greatest care all the forms of the old Church."

But the reciprocal dislike of the unsectarian Gentile and the Mormon cannot be exaggerated. This, on the Gentile's part, does not have its root in religious antagonism. It is outside of doctrine or dogma. It springs from political, though not necessarily party, jealousy. It is a strife for the mastership of Utah, and it is marked by an intensity of bitterness without parallel in any other section.

The two institutions of Mormondom which are the sub-

jects of severest criticism, are their secret courts, or councils, and their system of polygamy.

The first is that which anti-Mormons assert to be a complete system of government, through which the rights, duties, interests and affairs of the Mormon population are defined, imposed, conserved and regulated, secretly and through priestly intervention and control, to the detriment and danger of the community. It is charged that these councils make up a government within the government, an *imperium in imperio*, and so are not merely institutions disrespectful to the legally-constituted authorities, but schools of treason and a menace to the state.

The Mormon answer to this criticism is that these councils are simply conciliatory courts, for the arbitration of matters arising between brethren of the same faith, voluntarily resorted to by those involved in disputes, and whose awards must be voluntarily acquiesced in or remain without effect. The Mormon theory is that the bulk of differences which result in wide-spread quarrels, frequently involving entire communities, may readily be composed and adjusted if taken in hand at their beginning, and before the passions of the disputants become seriously excited. For this purpose, in each of the smallest divisions of Church jurisdiction, agents—called Teachers—are employed, whose business it is to acquaint themselves with neighborhood grievances, and by bringing the parties together, seek their composition. Failing in this, the matter is reported to the Bishop of the district, or ward, who offers his services, with those of his counselors, as a court of arbitration. Appeals lie from the award of this Bishop's court through other similarly constituted bodies of higher dignity, until that of last resort is reached, before the First President and Council. If the final award is rejected, the Church discipline allows a sentence of disfellowship against the contumacious party. No other penalty is attempted to be enforced, as in the nature of the case none could be.

It is difficult to see how this course of proceeding differs from that of other ecclesiastical tribunals, except that it covers a wider range, and seeks in the interest of harmony and good-fellowship to adjust secular as well as doctrinal disputes. But this Mormon system, while it exceeds in its scope the similar courts of many other religious bodies, is no more extensive than that employed by the sect of Quakers, which, in its furtherance of "peace on earth, good will to men," has always been held to be one of their highest titles to the respect of mankind.

That substantial justice is the rule of the awards of these conciliatory courts is shown by the fact that they are habitually resorted to by the Mormon laity. It is idle to say, as it is frequently said, that they are forced thither by the terrorism of priests, to become the subjects of spoliation and wrong; for whatever their average intelligence, no system habitually unjust in temporal affairs could retain the support of any people. And that it does command their confidence is shown by this fact, that the records of the civil courts reveal scarcely an instance where plaintiff and defendant are both of the Mormon faith. Gentiles sue Mormons and Mormons sue Gentiles; but Mormon suing Mormon is a proceeding so rare as practically to be unknown to the judicial history of Utah. Now, whether the average quality of justice administered in these tribunals is above or below that of the civil courts, is, it would seem, a question solely for the solution of those who resort to them. There is no legal compulsion attaching to them; they are self-imposed and self-endured; and if they fail to answer the purpose of their existence, will be self-abrogated by disuse. No harm can come of their employment, but much good, from the private and speedy settlement of neighborhood quarrels; and least of all need they be the occasion of public jealousy as arrogating the functions of the public judiciary. Litigation is not a plant of so rare value that its growth should be fostered and stimulated; and society would be the gainer if arbitration

were substituted in its place more generally than it now is, and that, too, whether under priestly or secular control.

The anti-Mormons charge that the arbitration business of these ecclesiastical councils is only an incidental, not the actual, purpose of their creation; and that under its cover treason is fostered and organized, until the system has become dangerous to the country, whose safety demands its destruction. This charge is unsupported by any public evidence, and as it is strenuously denied by the Mormon authorities, it becomes simply a disputed assertion, and is placed without the pale of profitable discussion.

It is not proposed to consider the religious aspects of polygamy. If it were not of divine institution, it would appear from Biblical history to have been, at least, of divine toleration, and that in the ancient days, those who enjoyed the peculiar favor of God enjoyed, also, the unpeculiar favor of multitudinous wives. Abraham, Jacob, Moses, David are names which the pious world have uttered reverently for thousands of years, and the measure of their polygamic sins, if such they were, is left for those who have taste for religious disputation. It is pertinent, however, to take into account the influence of polygamy upon the morals of the people addicted to its practice. And to ascertain the condition of public morals, there is no guide so trustworthy as the public records of criminal statistics. The inherent vice of a people cannot be suppressed; it must rise to the surface, and find, at last, its condemnatory record in the calendar of crime.

The criminal statistics of Utah are kept with unusual precision and care. Not only the nativity of criminals is registered, but the character of their religious belief, or nonbelief, as the case may be. This system furnishes a sound basis for the prosecution of the inquiry in hand. These statistics for the year prior to 1882 have been published, and the use of the facts educed from the criminal records of 1881, by the Hon. James W. Barclay, M. P., in an article which

lately appeared in *The Nineteenth Century,* has excited much comment here and abroad. This gentleman stated that, with Mormons constituting the bulk of the population of Salt Lake City (in 1881 there were about eighteen thousand five hundred Mormons to five thousand five hundred non-Mormons), the convicts contained in the city prison were twenty-nine, and in the county prison six, but of these only nine were Mormons. In the territorial penitentiary in 1881 there were fifty-one convicts, but only five of them were Mormons, and of these two were there for polygamy. Out of one hundred and twenty-five prisoners in the lock-up eleven only were Mormons, and some of these for polygamy. The returns of arrests in Salt Lake City in the same year showed one hundred and sixty-nine Mormons against eight hundred fifty-one non-Mormons. That is, with over three-quarters of the population of Salt Lake City, the Mormons furnish only one-sixth of the number of arrests in 1881. These records, which correspond substantially with those of former years, certainly exhibited the Mormons in a favorable light compared with those who denounce them as licentious, brutal and degraded.

The statistics at hand for 1882, which, it is believed, have not hitherto been published, cover a wider field, taking in all the populous districts of the Territory. The total number of all arrests for crimes and misdemeanors in these localities during 1882 was two thousand one hundred and ninety-eight, of which the seventy-eight per cent. of the Mormon population furnished three hundred, and the twenty-two per cent. of the non-Mormon one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight. A tabular exhibit of the grosser crimes embodied in the above total show:

	Mormons.	Non-Mormons.
Assault and battery,	40	260
Assault with intent to kill,		2
Assault with deadly weapons,		7
Assault with intent to commit rape,	1	5
Assault with threats,		18
Murder,	1	15
Manslaughter,		1
Attempt to murder,		4
Accused of murder,		6
Threatening to murder,		1
Mayhem,		2
Dueling,		1
Prostitution,		95
Keeping brothels,		27
Lewd conduct,		6
Insulting women,		3
Exposing person,		9
Nuisance,		5
Obscene and profane language,	4	24
Forgery and counterfeiting,		8
Drunkenness,	68	307
Drunk and disorderly,	29	151
Drunk and profane,	12	136
Selling liquor without license,		18
Gambling and keeping gambling houses,	1	52
Mail and highway robbery,	1	6
Grand larceny,	3	48
Burglary,	1	8
Disturbing peace,	34	111
Bigamy,		1
Destroying property,	15	26
Arson,		26
Obtaining property under false pretenses,		25
Opium smoking, etc.,		16
Stealing railroad rides,		19
Vagrancy,		147
Violating prison rules,		6
Total,	208	1578

So that the Mormons, comprising seventy-eight per cent. of the population of the Territory, contributed one-eighth of the arrests made during 1882, and the non-Mormons, having only twenty-two per cent. contributed seven-eighths.

In those pursuits having a demoralizing tendency, the distribution was as follows:

	Mormons.	Non-Mormons
No. saloons and breweries, ...	16	146
No. billiard tables and bowling alleys, .	1	46
No. gambling houses, ...		10
Total, ...	17	202

The number of brothels throughout the Territory was twelve, all kept by non-Mormons; number of inmates not given.

The criminal record of Salt Lake City, for 1882, shows that, in a population of about twenty-five thousand, divided between Mormons and non-Mormons as nineteen to six, the total number of arrests was one thousand five hundred and sixty-one, of which one hundred and eighty-eight were Mormons and one thousand three hundred and seventy-three non-Mormons. Classed by sex, the number of Mormon men and boys was one hundred and seventy-seven; non-Mormon one thousand two hundred and seventy-one; Mormon women, eleven; non-Mormon, one hundred and three. Of the sixty-six houses where beer and liquor were retailed by the glass, sixty were kept by non-Mormons, and the remaining six, nominally Mormons, were not entitled to participate in the sacraments of the Church by reason of their calling. The fifteen billiard rooms and bowling alleys and the seven gambling houses were all kept by non-Mormons. The six brothels had non-Mormon proprietors, and they were filled by thirty-one non-Mormon inmates.

If it should be suspected that these territorial and city exhibits show an unfair discrimination in favor of the Mormon population, through the sympathy of the Mormon police officers and magistrates, such suspicion will be removed by the summary of the records of the territorial penitentiary for the same year. It will be recollected that for the conviction of

this class of criminals, the whole machinery of the law, judicial and ministerial, is in the hands of the Federal Government. The number of penitentiary convicts for the year was twenty-eight. Of these but one was an orthodox Mormon, and she a woman, confined for one day for contempt of court; five others were Mormons only by reason of their parentage, and the remaining twenty-two were: eight Catholics, four Methodists, one Jew, one Adventist, one Presbyterian, and seven of no religious faith.

The tabular statement of the arrests throughout the Territory for 1882 furnishes food for varied reflection. One application only will be made. If those practicing polygamy are, as a class, actuated by the licentious motives with which they are charged, why is it that the affiliated crimes of prostitution, brothel-keeping, lewd conduct, insulting women, exposing person, attempting rape, and obscene and profane language, occasioning in all one hundred and seventy-nine arrests, are so nearly monopolized by the non-Mormon element that the proportion should be thirty-five to one? Crime breeds its congeners; and does not this table of crime furnish proof of the general honesty of those who enter the polygamic state?

E. S. G.